11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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large herds might still prefer a poor yet capable son-in-law. More often, however, he tried to cement his position by marrying his daughter to the son of another rich man. Such marriages took place, for the most part, between children of ten or twelve years,[82] *minipoka* or "favorites." To enhance the status of the head of the family, these children were honored with special gifts and exempted from normal duties. Even as adults, they did not participate in the ordinary way in tribal life. The men continued to validate their position by generous giving, but the gifts they offered were more often derived from inheritance and the exploitation of brothers and sons-in-law than from their own labors. The girls grew up without learning to cook, and long after marriage expected their mothers to prepare their meals and carry them to their tipis.

Parental desire to channel wealth permanently was, however, frequently frustrated. The early training of these young and favored children made for even greater marital instability than was customary for the tribe as a whole. It was usually the rich or the handsome (and the two were often identical) who were credited with many marriages. The poor, less sought after, stuck it out longer, if not through thick and thin.

The following is a description of the marriage of two favorites. Thirty-five years later, the informant spoke of this short interlude with deepest pain. Like a hurt child he reviewed the hardships of these months of living together.

> Yellow Wolf, my father, said to me, "Now don't fool around with anybody for you are a *minipoka*, and you should have a proper marriage." A marriage was arranged for me and Wakes at Night, the daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighters Band. She was a *minipoka* too, and only fourteen years old. She brought blankets and about fifteen pair of moccasins, enough for all the members of my family. She brought a pair for me. She also brought two broken and six unbroken horses. Yellow Wolf and his relatives put up twenty-five horses, their best ones. When this gift was sent to White Buffalo Robe, my father-in-law, Wakes at Night rode in front on a fine saddle horse. She wore a weasel-tail suit and a headdress. A wagon was loaded with blankets and goods. They were all taken over to White Buffalo Robe. White Buffalo Rib, a brother of Wakes at Night, received some of the horses. . . .
>
> Wakes at Night was the second child, but like her older brother, she was also a *minipoka*. Our marriage was not a happy one. She did not treat me very well. We fought constantly about where we should live. White Buffalo Robe wanted me to live at his place, because his daughter was so young and got homesick. My father did not want to let me go—and besides I wanted to stay home with him. Whenever White Buffalo Robe thought I had done something wrong, he took his daughter home. This happened several times. I would send my father for her and get her back. When I took my wife to visit her parents, her father would keep us there for a longer time

[82] A. E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure*, p. 35, notes a similar tendency of the rich to marry early.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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than we had intended to stay, and my father, knowing what would happen when we went away, would make it hard for us to go.

It is not surprising that a marriage of this kind, with the children maneuvering to remain in their respective privileged homes, and the fathers maneuvering for even the limited *minipoka* help, did not last long. This one broke up in a year and a half.

When the favorites remarried, pomp, ceremony and property exchange were usually omitted, as they were in second marriages throughout the tribe. Free from the pressure of parents, a man might select a wife from any stratum of society. Passion rather than property dictated the new choice.

The growing concentration of horse wealth made an unstable marriage situation even more precarious. Young men had great difficulty in obtaining a wife at all, for they could neither pay for nor support one. Such difficulty was not unknown in the older Blood society despite the excess of women over men. The established hunters and warriors (i.e., men who had horses or their equivalent in ceremonial prestige) had two, three, or more wives.[83] Fathers urged their young and attractive daughters, then as now, upon older and successful men. But while the time of marriage was late (many men were twenty-five and the sons of the poor frequently over thirty)[84] a young man still had some chance to rise on his own initiative and win recognition. In the early eighties, and for twenty years to follow, he suffered from all the old disadvantages of the polygamous society, and the new order offered him few satisfactory ways of exhibiting his worth. In 1882, it was reported, "there was very little crime. More trouble was caused by the stealing of women from each other. Women sold for horses. Only a few are rich enough to buy women now. Most of the young men who have no horses cannot get married, and therefore steal from someone rich in women."[85]

Nevertheless, a few ways remained for making a living. A man might work out for whites or become a scout or farmer in the government service, or if he preferred to follow Indian custom, he could seek a vision and become a shaman, although remunerative practice did not immediately follow. Or he might, and here the rewards were quicker, improve his position by marrying a rich women, often some ten or fifteen years his senior. A sufficiently ambitious man might combine all of them. John Many Rattles did.[86] Born in 1862, he reached adulthood when it was most difficult for young men to rise. He hired out to whites, became a government scout at thirty-three,

[83] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 526, "Many of them have six or seven wives."

[84] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 40. Cf. also Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272.

[85] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[86] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes, 1939.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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bided his time in marriage and told his friend, Flesh Taster, that "he was looking for someone suitable to him, even though she might be older." Finally he sought a vision and acquired medicine power. What money he earned he put into horses and proceeded to validate his prestige in the traditional way. He bought bundles "with the idea of being a priest some day." He had observed how comfortable a living "bishops" made, and he aspired to become one. Today he earns about $300 as a Horn priest and $600 as a medicine doctor, "more when there is an epidemic."

But the opportunities for remunerative work were scarce and few young men had either Many Rattles' ambition or foresight. Farming and what little herding there was may have raised the subsistence level, but they brought no substantial increase in income. The young man's position became increasingly insecure. It was difficult to get a job, it was difficult to get a wife, it was difficult to get a horse, and the prestige and advantage that followed the buying of ceremonial objects was therefore denied him. To find a place in the new society he had to revert to the patterns of the past, even when they were forbidden. The 1887–1888 report states, "War parties [were] composed mostly of young men from 16–25 years of age . . ."[87] These were raids upon the neighboring herds, and usually the Government cut short a brave career with a jail sentence.

The chasm between rich and poor was widening. When an old medicine man was asked, "Who is *istuisanaps*? Who gets respect?" he answered, "Those people who are born of rich people and maintain their riches. Also those rich in prestige from bundles and war exploits," and finally he added, "a rich man must have acquired his riches through earnest, honest, hard labor."[88] For today as well as yesterday "respect" is usually phrased in terms of war exploits and ceremonial ownership. It is therefore most revealing that this medicine man who spent his young days bucking the concentration of horse wealth in the first years of the reserve period, should feel his early struggle so intensely that only secondarily does he define "respect" in the traditional manner. His final remarks are perhaps an apology for the "new" rich who do not buy ceremonial objects but receive covert "respect" from the group. Earnest, honest, hard labor was not rewarded in a distant past.[89] Skill, daring, and ambition were more apt to have brought success.

CHILD STATUS AND WEALTH.—Children of the rich were set apart from

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[87] 1888, Vol. 13, No. 15, p. 108. The report adds "Red Crow and the older men and chiefs strongly object to this horse stealing." In this, they followed a pattern at least as old as 1809. "The old men," reads the Journal of Henry and Thompson, p. 546, "redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order."

[88] Biele, Field Notes.

[89] Mishkin, *op. cit.*, p. 53, for a similar rephrasing.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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confines of a limited area, asked to follow unrewarding and unfamiliar occupations, and forbidden the one activity that assured them a place in the r society—horse-stealing. That such a radical change was accomplished without resistance was due to one fact: there were no more buffalo on these once blackened plains. Rations offered by a friendly though foreign government alone made life possible.

Much of the traditional living was destroyed. But the economic mechanisms developed in the buffalo period survived. Unlike the rebellious Sioux, the acquiescent Blood were permitted to retain their horses. To this starving people these horses remained the symbol of wealth. Exuberant property transfers for ceremonial privilege and prestige continued to dominate their life but, lacking the earlier opportunities for improving status, only those who had horses before 1877 were able to participate in ostentatious displays. The need for loyal supporters diminished. So did the need for an energetic, though poor, son-in-law. The rich preferred to bulwark their position by marrying their children to others equally favored. Social stratifications, incipient in the buffalo days, became more marked in these early years of the reserve period.

1894–1910

The new economy continued to be a desultory affair. By 1896, the population had fallen to 1400.[91] The Blood were farming 304 acres, an increase of only twenty-nine in ten years. The farms were small, but the agent proudly reported that "instead of 35 fields worked mostly by whites in 1886, there were now 84 fields worked mostly by Indians."[92] Still the old difficulties remained and new ones were added. "The depression and lack of need of Indian labor and commodities, the poor crops in the Northwest Territories made it necessary to continue relief without curtailment, in spite of increasing vigilance."[93]

The earnings for the year, although greater than they had ever been before and distributed to more individuals, fell far below the needs of the tribe:[94]

Mining coal	$380.00
Hauling coal	725.00
Freighting	1183.69
Hay sold	1400.00
Working wages	2000.00
Sundries	1821.42
Total	$7510.11

[91] 1896, Vol. 10, No. 14, p. 367.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 326.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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approximately $40,000 annually.[115] As early as 1902, the agent had written, "these Indians are certainly industrious and never lose an opportunity to make money at any work that may turn up."[116] And four years later the general report reads, "A complete change has gradually come over their views. . . . The experimental discovery of the market value has brought this revolution of feeling."[117] Completely forgotten was the fact that the market value had been equally important to a successful fur trade in the buffalo days, and that then it had also been a spur to industry and ambition.

SOCIAL VALUES SUSTAINED.—But neither the increase in wealth nor its greater spread threatened the dominance of the large horse owners. True, they were persuaded, at long last, to care for the meat needs of their families from their own stock,[118] but the small dent made by these contributions was quickly offset by other government policies. The flow of white settlers into the area was steady, and it soon became apparent that "further expansion need not in the future be looked for so much in the direction of the increase of herds already in the hands of individuals as in the number of those who will engage in the industry, because largely in consequence of the curtailment of the hay areas . . . and the gradual increase of cattle, a large and growing proportion of Indians have already reached the limit of what they could profitably handle. . . ."[119] Ponies and priority had determined the size and ownership of the large cattle herds.

Many a young man who could not acquire a substantial herd of his own was drawn into the industry as a helper. His position in terms of the old buffalo days was in part reëstablished. Again his services were in demand; again he was assured board, lodging, clothing, and if his employer were generous, a horse as an annual bonus. These helpers were often the younger or poorer relatives of rich herders,[120] and they hoped for preferential treatment because of relationship. There was little chance of riches in this work,

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[116] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 133.

[117] 1906, Vol. 12, No. 27, p. xxv.

[118] In 1905, twenty-five men agreed to support seventy-five women and children. They handed back the $50 that had been credited to their meat account. (1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.) By 1907-1908, two hundred Blood, or about two-thirds of the adult male population, found it unnecessary to draw free food allowances. In that year the Government supplied the tribe with 273,000 lbs. less beef than it had five years earlier. (1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 163.)

[119] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. xxvi.

[120] A more or less similar situation exists among the Kazak. In discussing the helpers of cattle owners, A. E. Hudson (*Kazak Social Structure*, p. 27) writes, "These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who receive wages."

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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but despite the unattractiveness of the wage, some of the ambitious still sought these jobs. Loyal service might be rewarded by a convenient marriage.

Although the poor man might raise his status by marrying the daughter of his rich employer, there were many times when he complained of continued exploitation after such a marriage. "Respect" did not always follow. Certain brave souls broke from the trying situation, but many knew that, if you were born poor, the ways and means of getting ahead fast were still few.

Squirrel Man, Yellow Wolf's poor son-in-law, stuck it out. His behavior bespeaks his frustrations. A year after marriage, the young groom brought his bride to her father's place. Here they were given a home of their own, "for Squirrel Man had nothing except what he got from his father-in-law for whom he worked from that time on." He sat in the Sun Lodge which his "chaste" wife put up, but it was her brother, Pointed Plume, who paid most of the expenses, made the large distributions at the give-away, and gained in prestige. Later, when Squirrel Man's sons wanted to farm, they had to borrow horses and wagons from their wealthy uncle. In time, "although he always acted like a brother to Pointed Plume," as one informant put it, the unhappy husband could tolerate his lot no longer. He feigned suicide when his wife persisted in visiting her brother; he flashed a mirror from the hill-top (a conventional invitation to assignation) in an attempt to bolster his ego and make his wife jealous—but in his case there was no eager mistress to answer it; he abandoned his wife and home, only to return meekly a short time later led by the agent; and as a final symbol of his castration, he hastily donned woman's clothes and hid when he was called by the court as a witness.[121]

Other young men preferred to work for the agency or white ranchers, for the money wages received from such employment offered a greater measure of independence. The poor young man no longer had to accept a patronizing handout from a rich relative; he no longer had to be a burden to a poor one. But despite the new opportunities, the economic advantage at marriage would still favor the sons of the rich. The poor young man might have secured some few cattle from a late issue; he might have bought a saddle horse for $100 and a fine saddle for $105; he might even have invested in a few horses, as indeed Ned Sloane did after years of working out. But all

[121] Here and in the case of the man who wanted to murder his wife because he believed she was sleeping with a ghost (see p. 51), abnormal behavior was laid to the eating of peyote. This is particularly interesting since peyote is rarely used by the Blackfoot. Squirrel Man got it from a visiting medicine man—one informant said he was a Crow, another an Osage—who put on a peyote cure for Mrs. Squirrel Man. The other secured the buttons while he was visiting the Crow.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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425 Easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must either turn again to wages, as indeed the sons of rich farmers have done, or if he is not content with the marginal land still available, he must wheedle an idle farm from a more [426] fortunate if less industrious tribesman. He may get it as a loan or on a rental [427] basis, but he is never certain how long he will be permitted to crop it. The more successful he is, the more eager the renter will be to reclaim his land [578] and try his hand at it again. Violent conflict and familial hostility frequently result.

556 CHANGING PRESTIGE FACTOR.—Distinctions between rich and poor are 184 still drawn, and frequently these obscure expected behavior. The rich daughter-in-law is served; the poor one does the work. The poor son-in-law [606] is disparaged. Even the impoverished herder or unsuccessful farmer, in [581] memory of a better day, will storm when his daughter marries a poor orphan. A poor sister-in-law said of her rich one, "She always makes me [607] work for her at her house, but she never does anything when she visits me." A poor young wife who may make a simple and justified request will be sarcastically told, "Go home, you *minipoka*." The real "favorite" may exploit his childhood privilege in the face of little criticism even after he has reached adulthood.

593 The beautiful and discontented wife of a poor man may brazenly flaunt 837 her affair with her rich lover, but the unhappy wife of a rich man will find some more dignified way of showing her dissatisfaction. When her husband 577 philanders, she may refuse to cook his food; she may roll up in her own 556 blanket and deny him his conjugal rights; she may leave him, or she may 184 entertain his mistress, ply her with fine gifts, and receive the approbation of society "because she shows no jealousy."

[575] A chief or member of the Horn Society is also roundly applauded when he shows no jealousy; but the poor husband who sits by and silently witnesses the drunken love-making of his wife and her rich lover receives no [593] respect for his restraint. A spoiled and wealthy woman may forbid her [584] "favorite" the house; she may take his horses and disinherit him if she disapproves of his marriage. A woman less economically secure, even if she is known as "manly-hearted," may uphold the authority of her "favorite" at all cost, as the one sure means of maintaining family prestige.

557 The advantages of a good marriage are quickly recognized. A wealthy Pointed Plume will say, "All women chase a rich man." A poor William Curtis will say, "A man should marry his daughter to someone who can take care of her."

178 But the changing status of various groups within Blood society is strik- 581 ingly revealed by an analysis of marriage trends. Thirty years ago marriages still followed the earlier pattern. The wealthy cattle men continued

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

to select mates from their own circles. The poor married each other; half-breeds married half-breeds[150] or orphaned members of the tribe. Sometimes, it is true, an ambitious but poor young man succeeded in marrying a wealthy but considerably older woman; sometimes a father of a poor but beautiful daughter succeeded in marrying her off to a wealthy husband; sometimes a rich herder preferred a poor son-in-law whose labor he could exploit. But the lines remained clearly drawn. Rarely were the "newly rich" able to crash the "old society."

Today another trend is visible. Numerous marriages have taken place between the children of the "newly rich" and the children of those cattle-breeding families who went into farming around 1910. These are the families that have cash incomes, good houses, good clothes, good automobiles. It is now the impoverished horse owner who is the undesirable. His children are marrying the poor and the orphaned.[151]

SUMMARY.—After a decade of prosperity, an accident of climate created a social upheaval among the Blood. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920 practically annihilated the cattle and reduced the erstwhile successful herder to penury, at least in terms of a money economy. But he still possessed sufficient horse wealth to validate his prestige as he had always done. His waning security, however, led to a compulsive buying of privilege, more particularly in the Horn Society, whose members' power to sorcerize may well have been an added inducement during this time of deprivation.[152]

The farmers suffered also, but only temporarily. With their profits from wheat they bought up the few remaining cattle, and made no effort to compete for recognition with their few horses. They continued to improve their land and buildings, to furnish their houses comfortably, to dress their wives and children in style. The drought and depression of the early thirties, however, forced many of them on the relief rolls of the agency. Discouraged they have ceased to cultivate their crops. Today, the better land is being concentrated in the hands of the few.

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[150] Most of the half-breeds on the Blood Reserve are the children of Indian women and white traders (see story of Revenge Walker, p. 11). They are known by the name of their father (Creighton, Davis, Gladstone, Beebe, etc.).

[151] No formal statistics on marriages were collected, but the present statement of trends seems justified by remarks of informants, direct observation, and an examination of marriages recorded by the agency census.

[152] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navajo Witchcraft*. Discussing a rise in the last two years "in the number of persons whom gossip accuses as witches," he writes: "While this increase . . . may also be connected with the relative economic prosperity of this interval, I am inclined to regard both the witchcraft and the ceremonial phenomena as alternative responses directed toward the preservation of a badly disturbed equilibrium." Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, *Psychological Characteristics of the Northeastern Indians*, MSS.

A. [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

If the manly-hearted woman is regarded as a product of established and traditional wealth, "Miss Wells' girls" illustrate the possibility for mobility within the more recent society. Half-breeds, most of them, and without inherited property, these "girls," now in their late forties, were sent to school at an early age and only rarely spent their holidays with their Indian relatives. When other children returned to their parents, this unwanted group went off with their teacher to a summer camp where they worked and experimented in cooperative living. Miss Wells understood her girls. She mothered them and imbued them with enthusiasm for white ways. They, in turn, loved and respected her. Today these "girls" are the most progressive women of their generation—and the most ambitious. Several assisted at the school after "graduation." One earned her living as a dressmaker in a white community. Later she returned to become the first and only independent woman farmer on the reserve. It is to this group that the up-and-coming wheat farmers, mostly half-breeds themselves, have looked for wives. These farmers are now the "newly rich," and two of them have been elected band chiefs.

Many women enjoy independent earnings, but these have never been great enough to radically affect their social status. Now, as in the past, vertical mobility is achieved through advantageous marriage. Marriage, however, plays a lesser rôle in the life of the woman of wealth. A union with the son of a rich family naturally cements her position; but a union with a poor man does not, ipso facto, lower it. On the contrary, her property can be used to enhance his earning power and prestige. If he is industrious, both will gain; if he proves unsatisfactory, she can cast him off and with little difficulty find a more deserving mate. Few women, however, have much property. Most of them, despite the privileges they enjoy, shine in reflected glory in this dominantly masculine society. In childhood, their status depends upon their fathers' status, in adulthood, upon their husbands'. Significantly, and in contrast to feminist practice in the Pueblos, a Blood woman is always known after marriage by her husband's name.

JEALOUSY.—While this male dominance is indisputable, it gives small comfort to the man on the reserve, for jealousy is one of the most disruptive forces in Blood human relations. The woman is still considered a form of property, property that is as necessary to success today as it was in the polygamous past. Then the younger wives were known as "uncertain wives," and lapses in matrimonial duty received summary and harsh treatment. Writing in 1832, Maximilian comments, "They generally punish infidelity in their wives very severely, cutting off their noses in such cases. . . . When ten or twelve tents were together, we were sure to see six or seven women mutilated in this manner. . . . There have been frequent instances of a husband immediately killing his wife, when she had had intercourse with

30: Kehoe E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1980
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of sign-functions (Eco 1976:21-28, 48-51 explicitly applies semiotics to the analysis of cultural phenomena other than language). The semioticist states, "A code establishes general *types*, therefore producing the rule which generates concrete *tokens*, i.e., signs such as usually occur in communicative processes" (Eco 1976:50-51). Blankets in the giveaways are tokens. Scaled from expensive Pendleton and Hudon's Bay wools through synthetics to sheets and finally pillowcases and dollar bills, the "blankets" are dense signs communicating three messages: the giver's ethnic affiliation choice, his or her social network, and the status the giver claims for the honored person.

The first function of the giveaway is to communicate the Indian ethnic affiliation chosen by the giver. From the 1880s, when the extinction of the bison herds destroyed the foundation of the Northern Plains Native way of life, the Indian communities have been encapsulated within the Anglo-American plural society. This structure provides the person of Native descent the option (in theory, if not, in many cases, in practice) of aligning with the Anglo-American dominant society. Then person of Native descent usually also has the option of remaining within the Indian band in which he or she was enrolled as a child, or can claim the right to enrollment. The Anglo-American governments' concept of Indian bands as subordinate nations under treaty status confers many privileges, including freedom from many taxes, to enrolled Indians. Recognized Indians are eligible for positions of prestige, and increasingly of power and good remuneration, in organizations within or funded by governments to serve Indians. The person of Native descent may choose to repudiate Indian status in order to attempt to achieve a satisfying position as a practitioner of the dominant Anglo-American cultural pattern, or he or she may perceive a greater likelihood of achieving satisfactions through roles marked "Indian". For the latter, it is necessary to affirm publicly the choice of Indian affiliation: "when you're an Indian, you have to go through all this."

The giveaway signals Indian affiliation because popular ideology, both Native and Euro-American, contrasts the Indian value of conspicuous generosity with the Anglo-American value of conspicuous accumula-

B C 121 431
B C [182]
B C 182 431
B C [557]
B C [557]
B C 121 431

461 which was illustrated in the previous statement. Interestingly, the preference for the more leisurely activity is related to transportation. Today, getting from one place to another depends upon the operation of one's motor vehicle, and, it can be said, that the ability to repair this vehicle is valued. It is an emergent instrumental value in that knowledge of auto repairing is one way to earn a living, one way to maintain possession of an otherwise expensive artifact, and has in it the basis for a new kind of personal mastery--man over machinery.

Automechanic and Ranching are not equivalent instrumentalities. Automechanic still carries the stigma of dirtiness, despite its practical worth. Ranching, in that it relates to the traditional values of the equestrian Blood, is more generally approved of, more generally valued. It is not something that the young Indian can aspire to directly. To become a Rancher one must have both capital and experience. One must also have access to land. Branding by itself is not a sufficient instrumentality; it occurs only in the spring. Thus it is easier and more practical to aspire toward Automechanic because there is a greater chance of success in trying to manipulate the Agency personnel into sending one through "up-grading" than there is in trying to get land allotted to one's self or to obtain a loan to pur-

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461 [557] chase livestock. Practicality is the key-note in the comparison, and it is also involved in the comparison of the next two popular I.A.'s, Carpenter and Bronc Riding.

Carpenter.--Carpenter seems to be more popular than Bronc Riding. Both commanded a positive response from 52% of the sample; however, Carpenter was viewed less negatively (26 responses of which 21 were positive as opposed to 29 responses of which 21 were positive). Those who chose Carpenter as a generally popular activity did so on the grounds of previous experience (8 statements), long run economic benefits (7 statements), personal recognition and self satisfaction (7 statements), and personal independence (4 statements). Like Ranching it was seen as an active occupation (3 statements). However, the most frequent reason for choosing Carpenter was knowledge (14 statements). This latter reason, in contrast to Bronc Riding, indicates that Carpenter is an instrumental activity of the same order as Automechanic. Both tasks demand "knowledge" in greater proportion than "experience," i.e., they have to be learned. This emphasis would indicate that the activities are not wholly within the Reserve ideology. The assertion is slightly contravened by the rejections of Carpenter, lack of experience (6 statements) overrides lack of knowledge (4 statements), but these were the only concerns. Carpenter is seen in sharp relief. It is something you know or don't

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

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selves. People think all the councilors are like that. I wouldn't want that.

These contrasts between Doctor and Medicine Man and between Politician and Chief Making are interesting. There are definite and essential differences between each member of both pairs, particularly in reference to the newer white or western manifestations of the professions. However, there are marked continuities in thought between all of them. These similarities reside in the conceptualization of power and ability, or in relation to education and/or experience and [557] ability. Also, in the preceding quotation, the manipulation and direction of people is seen in both the modern and traditional realms as distasteful. The confusion and uncertainty of the informants in relation to Doctor and Politician are related to the mixed conceptualization of these activities. The young Blood see the activities of modern doctors and politicians as analogous to the functions and occupations of the traditional tribal leaders, generous men to whom one could go for political, economic, and social favors or for supernatural intervention.

461 This latter aspect brings us back to the topic of Priest-Clergy. Here the relationship between the modern role [765] and the traditional role is reversed. It was noted that the medicine man of the past did not necessarily forego the good